

447 fear of porring animals or raiding enemies. Old Rantlaka complains that
 231 herdsboys of to-day no longer tend cattle as they should. Cattle used to
 be taken to grass just after sunrise, or least when there was no summer
 dew, for the early dew in summer, though not in winter, is dangerous
 to man and beast. They were brought home to be milked at about 11
 [512] o'clock, when the boys would eat their breakfast, and were driven out
 again till sunset. To-day the boys like having their breakfast first, and
 it is not unusual in some areas to find cattle mil in their break or midday,
 especially where the herdsboys are attending school, a practice that
 seriously decreases their grazing time. Not one of the ten head of cattle
 in Rantlaka's village is in milk. In fact, the cattle in Lovedu-land give
 hardly any milk at all, owing largely to over-population (over 75 per cent.
 of the land is under cultivation and certain areas are under forest) but
 [243] also because of the poor quality of the cattle. But milk has never played
 an important part in Lovedu diet and many people find it nauseating.

361 You are eager to be shown the lay-out of the village and to watch some
 of the activities. As you pass through a gateway leading from the *ibaya*
 to the huts, you hear Rantlaka giving orders to the boys that a fowl is to be
 caught and killed for the visitors. The huts stand in two curved rows
 facing one another, sixteen in all. In a large old-style village like the
 royal hosi, they would surround the *ibaya*, but here there are too few for
 that. A complete circle of huts will haunt the dreams of the ambitious
 251 dozen of a district. To one side of the line of huts is a tobacco garden,
 while at the back is the *marula*, or storage enclosure, made of branches
 with a gate that can be closed against wandering game. Here stand the
 large receptacles made of wood interwoven with grass in which mealies
 are stored after reaping, till dry enough for decolishing. But they are
 empty now and some are in need of repair. To one side stands a roughly
 [273] made, unplastered hut full of beer-pots. Here beer is left to ferment and
 [262] sometimes also served. A number of large green and yellow pumpkins,
 the sweet kind cultivated by Natives, have been placed beside the beer-
 pots, while a heap of golden, plumlike *marula* fruits with a cloud of
 milgus above it testifies to the desire of some woman to make a little
 cider at home. But it is seldom that such cider is made at home; the place
 for it is in the open under the shade of the trees.

252 As you look along the space between the two rows of huts, a pleasant
 and busy scene meets the eyes. It is ten o'clock and cooking operations
 are at their height. Some are cooking outside in the courtyard; others
 prefer to cook in the kitchen hut. An old woman is spreading out her
 newly lifted monkey nuts, together with a few cobs of mealies which
 had fallen to the ground, to be sun-dried in her courtyard. Some freshly
 stamped mealie meal on mats and in baskets is also set out in the sun.
 251 On an old piece of corrugated iron are humps of a dark green substance.
 This is relish, cooked pumpkin and bean leaves, being dried and pre-
 served for use in winter, when greens are hard to obtain. Apparently too
 much had been cooked for the corrugated iron, so the residue has been
 plastered on to the thatch of a hut. Roofs are useful also for other pur-
 poses; on one is a newly washed salampore cloth spread out to dry.

351 Each pair of opposing huts forms a separate household, its courtyard,

Cracking the morning meal is a long-draw-out process, requiring from two to three hours, for not only does water take a long time to boil in these earthen pots over a slow fire, but everything is done in a leisurely manner. While the meal is being cooked, the children and the women themselves eat mealies or monkey nuts, or sit about the courtyard eating sugar cane, for it is summer, the time when there is plenty. The old woman is now roasting some shelled monkey nuts on a potsherd; these she will crush fine and add to the relish to give it additional flavouring. 252

A comely girl of about fourteen comes with a large gourd of water on her head, which a friend helps her to put down. 'Makhadi oo,' calls out her mother. 'Malomo,' says the girl, a polite reply or formal answering phrase by which you know at once that she belongs to the royal group, for each group has its own distinguishing answering praise-title. 'Get ready the plates. I shall be dishing up soon.' Makhadi goes into the hut and collects five dishes—three gourd and two wooden plates—in which are the remains of the previous meal. The remains are carefully set aside to be used for making light beer (makhadi), for food is never wasted; then the dishes are secured by means of powdered sandstone and stood in a row in the sun to dry. 576 573 715 217 264

In a neighbouring courtyard a grandmother begins feeding a two-month-old baby with thick gruel of spouted corn. She begins by washing its face, then, cupping her left hand filled with gruel before its mouth, she pushes in the food with a finger of the right hand. Splutterings and gurglings are of no avail till Germany has decided it has had enough. This novel procedure is followed from the day of birth as a supplement to mother's milk. After its meal comes its daily bath. The baby is held over a large potsherd of warm water and washed with a little soap, special care being taken to clean the head and eyes. The baby wriggles and cries; the sherd has jagged edges; the European onlooker fears that at any moment the child may slip out of the woman's hands; but she is skilled and experienced in the handling of infants, and nothing untoward occurs. After being so-dosed, the baby's body is anointed with vaseline, an easy substitute for the butter fat of old. In the meantime two boys arrive, one with a large cock under his arm. They are sorry to have taken so long, but, when they looked for a fowl, only the fowls of their neighbours could be seen; their own were nowhere to be found. Your hostess is about to have it killed, but you decide you would prefer to taste native relish, so you give instructions that it is to be left on the hut veranda with legs tied together. 553 554

The woman of the smoke has lifted her pot off the fire and is beginning to dish up. Smoothing down the porridge with her wooden spoon, she skillfully scoops out a spoonful, which she carefully lays on one of the platters. The result is a neat cake of porridge over which a smooth, outer skin very rapidly forms. A cake is placed in each of the dishes before a second is added, till there are four or five on each. A Lovedu housewife is very particular about the manner in which she dishes up food, for unsightly-looking cakes with jagged edges give one the reputation of slovenliness. The Lovedu pride themselves on their cleanliness with food; porridge must be white, with no suspicion of a foreign object. When a 264

has begun making. Her small daughter under puberty has, however, ²⁵² fetch the dung, as their cattle kraal has not been doctored to make it safe for women to enter without harming the cattle. The old mother of the village head sits basking in the sun in the courtyard, guarding the drying mats and mauls from the fowls that wander freely about the huts now that the people are away. She wields a long stick and every time a fowl approaches whacks at it to chase it off. [76]

The only sound that can now be heard in the village is the thud of ²⁵² three stampers. A woman and two girls are finishing off their stamping begun two hours before. They pound with long, wooden stampers into large, hour-glass-shaped blocks of wood with break up-and-down movements from the waist. It is hard work requiring a fair amount of skill. The first stage in stamping is the *ho shorole* process; hard mealie grains are placed in the stamping block, a little water added, and stamping begins. When the outer husks are loose the grains are placed in a flat winnowing basket, where, with an up-and-down movement, the husks are separated out and allowed to fall on the ground. These will later on be used for feeding pigs. The de-husked grains are put back into the block to be further pounded. After a time this is winnowed again in the basket, the lighter husks being made to fall on top of the rough husks of the first winnowing. The husks of the second winnowing are used for making light beer (*mabude*) and could in time of scarcity be used for porridge. After being stamped a third time, the mealie is generally winnowed into a basket, for the third winnowings are used to make *ovuthithi*, a coarseish porridge darker in colour than *ovums*. What is now left of the mealie grains looks like rather rounded grains of very white rice. This ends the first stage in stamping. Boiling water is poured over these grains, which are soaked for about two hours, then taken out and placed on a roughly made or old winnowing basket to allow the water to drain off. At dawn next morning the second main process (*ho seka*)—stamping into fine meal—takes place. The result is a very fine, snowy white flour very much like maizena, the pride of the Lovedu housewife. To supply the needs of an ordinary household, it is necessary to stamp two or three times a week, a process involving from four and a half to six hours of work each time. Kaffir corn and millet is subjected to one stamping in the wooden block to get rid of the husks, then ground fine on a flat grindstone. But porridge of kaffir corn or millet is very seldom eaten, most of it being used for beer. [73]

Two boys come home from school and forage in the kitchen hut for ²⁵⁷ their food, as their mothers have gone to the fields; of the twenty-five children in the village, they are the only ones who go to school. The midday heat is intense; the quiet air quivers under the sun's fierce rays. Some small girls sitting under a nearby tree outside the village seize hold of an empty paraffin tin and begin to sing and dance. Two of them are looking after babies, which they have strapped to their backs, but this in ²⁵⁴ no way disturbs their enjoyment. Later on they will set out with old empty jam tins of various sizes to collect grasshoppers, which they catch by beating them with branches. In winter they are sent to collect wild relish for their mothers or to catch *mahoru* (*Macrotermes bellicosus* *Savane*), which they entice out of their holes by means of a long piece

557 of *lelap* (*Morisona* sp.) or *ipikejake* (*Cyperus communis*), rush-grasses which
 the men seize with their antenae. The girls who have been stamp-
 ing now set out with some friends from a neighbouring village, all armed
 [54] with axes, to collect firewood. The girls of this company are ag-motes;
 [532] they share their labours, confide their love affairs, bachel together, and, in
 the late afternoon, when they go to the bush, they sit together elongating
 their *latis* *sinosa* (*be* *lucro*). Meanwhile the village lies hunking and
 dreaming in the afternoon sun; except for the pecking fowls there is
 hardly a stir. 'Da gas' ('Where is it—beer?'), says Raselaka to his son
 Bakware, as he returns with some poles on his shoulder for repairing his
 574 wife's granary. 'There is beer of *ijeme* [work-party] over at Moduri's,'
 273 is the reply; and the men, accompanied by the women, set out for the
 beer drink, knowing they will be allowed to partake even though they
 have done no work.

The hum of voices as you near a certain kraal leaves you in no doubt
 that this must be Moduri's village. A fair crowd has gathered in the
 courtyard of the woman who is holding the *ijeme* and a typical beer-
 drinking scene meets the eye. The centre of the picture is a large pot of
 beer placed in a rounded depression made for it in the courtyard. Beside
 it stands a flat winnowing basket containing long-handled calabash cups
 from which the beer is drunk. Beside the pot sits a man who serves the
 beer, using a beer-cup as ladle; he gives each cup to a young man of about
 twenty, who hands it round. The guests have ranged themselves on
 either side of the beer pot, women on one side, men on the other. As
 each calabash is emptied, it is brought back by the young man who is
 doing the waiting, to be filled. There is no hurry. Each one drinks at his
 leisure and conversation flows freely. Every one knows he will be given
 in his turn and, if one man is handed a second cup, he will pass it on to
 any one who has not yet been served, till all have had four or five. It is
 a pleasant social gathering and all the latest gossip is discussed. Small
 651 children toddle about in between the drinkers and may even be given a
 625 little of the beer. Ominously Pheduli remarks, 'Madame has seen police
 near Madingen. There appear to be four of them. What can they be
 wanting?' 'Oh,' replies Dwaga, 'they are no doubt raiding for tax
 defaulters!' There is general uneasiness, for about a fifth of the gathering
 are in arrears. Muhale is six years in arrears and, as he never goes to
 town to work, he has not once been caught. 'They won't catch me nap-
 ping in my home to-night,' volunteers Mathakha. 'I shall go into the
 bush again. Are they Shangana-Tonga or Sotho, those police Madame
 saw?' a very relevant question, because the Shangana-Tonga, more likely
 than not recruited from outside the reserve, will not know these hiding
 places in the forests and caves. Here Fikila describes how his friend
 Setimela, who had himself always been in default and knew all the best
 hiding places, had joined the police the previous year. Consequently, at
 the very next raid the police made a most successful scoop, catching
 ninety-six defaulters, whom they marched to Duivelakloof.

574 The beer-pot is almost empty and people are merely sitting talking
 273 when the host calls Raselaka and his European guest aside into his recep-
 tion hut, together with a few other intimates. A woman brings in a small

pot of beer, decorated in a red chevron pattern, brimming with shining white bubbles at the mouth. A well-scurved basket with four beer-cups is placed beside it. The woman crouches on her haunchs in the presence of the guests, as is the custom. Turning to his neighbour, the host says, 'Here is a little water in honour of my good friend, headman Raulaka, and his visitor.' The man, turning to his neighbour, says, 'You heard the words of your host' and he in turn repeats the message to Raulaka himself, who returns thanks for the honour. His thanks are similarly repeated (he says) till they reach the host, and the dishing-up begins. The host is given the first cup to drink, in accordance with Native etiquette, then Raulaka and his friend are served, the Europeans, as an honour, being given a rounded calabash placed in a small flat basket. The group in the hut is small, so no waiter is needed. Two women form part of the select company. When the beer has sunk to the last drops, the server says, 'The beer is finished,' whereupon all present *loka* (greet) with a long-drawn-out 'Ndaaaaaaaa.' The pot is turned upside down and emptied of the dregs, which are drunk by some one in the company. Such are the formalities of beer-drinking.

The sun has sunk low in the western horizon when you wend your way back to the village. The herdboys, with whistles and cries, are bringing home the cattle, goats, and donkeys. Two of them, one on an ox, one on a donkey, are having a race on the last level piece of ground near home. Others carry bundles of wood under their arms for the *khiri* fire. Suddenly you hear the whistles of beer carriers as a party of ten women carrying calabashes, resting in baskets half-filled with grain, comes towards you. What beer is this? Are these not the in-laws of Pkila, who lives in the village next to yours? True enough, they are bringing *khiri* beer to their *tazai* (bridegroom), who married their daughter. When the women in the village see them, they, too, begin their cries of joy, accompanied by a few dancing steps (*ku jehela*); one of them even relieves a carrier of her burden and carries it for her to the hut of the son-in-law. Having set down their pots, the carriers begin dancing about, singing, 'Mushiji kiki le; gi y'a chwa ga noma' (I don't eat blackjacks; I'm going to have relish of meat), in anticipation of the goat that the receiver is by custom bound to kill for them on such an occasion. He has in addition to give them a goat and *tor*, to take back in recognition of their gift. If he has no goat, he may give them £1 in all instead. Hence the beer which the relatives of a woman send to their son-in-law each year or every few years, when they are short of corn, is really an exchange of gifts to maintain good relations. In addition, when the in-laws need anything, such as cattle or food, they may make beer and ask their *tazai*, who cannot easily refuse. Immediately after their arrival, the carriers are given a pot of beer from that which they have brought. But, since your capacity for beer is more limited than that of your host, you decide you must go back to the village, as it is getting late.

Every one is converging homewards. Some women are coming with paraffin tins or pots of water on their heads; these four-gallon tins are much liked for their lightness, but the dampness of the climate soon rusts holes into them. Those coming from the fields bring with them baskets

- 144 Men have begun to suffer the penalty of reckless exposure to mosquitoes, especially after nightfall in the valleys where malaria often was drunk. Leaky huts and damp clothes have brought coughs, rheumatism and perhaps pneumonia. There is disease even among the cattle, which are attacked by the ticks that abound in the high grass. But these things cannot outweigh the pleasure of abundant relishes and summer fruits.
- 221 April (*Thadantab*—the month when women ask you to help them lift the rule) the head from their heads) is indeed worthy of its name. Each afternoon the women come home with basketsful of pumpkins, green melons, nuts and relish. Careful housewives are drying melons for winter while those whose weeding or mounding is up to date make tasty cakes of ground corn, monkey nuts, or the date-like fruits of the muskberry tree (*Borchavia discolor*). The receptacles for storing have to be renewed for the reception of the new harvest, storage enclosures strengthened and relishes prepared. Men are to be seen daily going out to cut poles or grass, which the women carry home in enormous bundles on their heads! Scum reaping begins. The seedcorn is first pulled up, then the groundnuts. Millet and kaffir corn are reaped next, but the birds create too much havoc in the ripening fields; and, before this has ended, the meadows are garnered, stripped of their sheaths in the fields and carried home in baskets or on sledges. By the end of May, reaping and the threshing of kaffir corn and cloverine, usually done in prepared places in the fields, are in full swing. But in summer people do not, as in the planting season, work much in the mornings, except in working parties. Cooking is first finished and only after about eleven o'clock do the people go out to their fields. The men, especially those lucky enough to have no huts to renew or repair, have more leisure now, and there are daily orgies of beer-drinking. The abundance and variety of food make people forget that there might be a shortage later in the year, coming as a climax to reckless consumption and social activity. This is the time that people begin to compete in great friendly gogo-dancing displays and carry beer to relatives-in-law.
- 231 Towards the end of July, when the herdsmen turn the cattle to graze on the meadow stalks, there are echoing calls of joy, for soon they will not be herding at all. Grazing near home marks the beginning of the play-housekeeping of boys and girls in the reaped fields at the end of the season.
- 221 In contrast to the planting season, when the problem is to put in one's seeds betimes, reaping-time allows of a variety of other activities. From 441 May, therefore, there are not only dances and much beer-drinking, but there is time for the plying of crafts, such as pottery, mat-making, basket-making. For the specialist in any craft is always primarily an agriculturalist who plies his craft only when he has time, and it is in vain that anyone approaches even the most skilled craftsman for an object during the planting or weeding season. Once the summer rains have stopped, courtyard walls are re-plastered and hut-building is possible. The period from August to the end of October when the fields are bare and the grass has dried is *madulaho* ('the time of sitting at home'), three months of leisure so dear to the Lovedu. Though many people are still winding up the work of the year, building and thatching, threshing and

stand, they return the compliment by giving you a goat. It is the 'walking-stick' of the old women who brought the beer to her son-in-law, enabling her to go home safely. Goats are dedicated to the gods more frequently than any other animals. A goat is killed at a burial, and its uncooked flesh is eaten. People pay goats to their doctors; they exchange them for medicine. Their skins are still used for making skirts for women and cradles for their babies, whereas cattle hides have no use except for the things used in impounding cattle. Goat's milk, which is never drunk by adults because of its unpleasant odour, is the food of herdboys and girls. All in all, goats play a not inconsiderable part in economic and goodwill exchanges, in legal adjustments, in ritual and religion.

By contrast, sheep, though in the homes of a diviner they represent the men of consequence and goats merely ordinary people, are of no importance whatever. They are very rarely seen on the hills and difficulties connected with dipping have reduced them to a negligible number in the valleys. Fowls are conspicuous everywhere, but only their meat, not their eggs, are eaten. They have recently been introduced by the Shangani-Tonga and even to-day, if found in the capital, are killed and thrown over the hedge. They are never, as among the Shangani-Tonga, used in religious rites. Donkeys, introduced in considerable numbers some thirty years ago, are used in ploughing and for transport, while pigs, also a recent acquisition, figure largely in trading transactions. Pork is not eaten except by men who have worked among Europeans, but the reason is that it causes, not so much that it is related to the totem of the tribe. Finally, hunting, as it is to-day, can be dismissed with reference to the activities of herdboys, who shoot birds with wooden-headed arrows, use birdlime obtained from certain trees, and set various kinds of traps to catch rats, dwarf mongooses, and squirrels.

It is a different matter when we turn to the exploitation of the vegetation. The role that this source of subsistence plays is evident in a thousand ways. It is indeed difficult to give an adequate picture of the manner in which the vegetation enters into all aspects of life and culture. Perhaps, by way of illustration, we may take half a dozen names in order from an alphabetical list of over 300 plants—a small proportion of the flora—which we collected, and note merely a few of the ordinary, well-known uses:

Murididi (*Eleocharis acutata*). The wood, which is very white and hence much liked, is used for making spoons and bowls; being soft wood, it is also used for milk pails and door boards. To ensure that it will resist weevils to some extent, it is not cut when very young.

Muridiso-nyabuo (*Trichadema arylonicum*). In winter, when beer is slow to ferment, the leaves are put into the pot to accelerate the process. The roots, chewed or crushed, are put on wounds to relieve the pain and to heal.

Mumilo (*Vougea floribunda*). Two varieties are distinguished. The primary use is medical and magical, e.g. a branch, first presented to termites and then medicated, is beaten on the temples for migraine; a medicated pole of *mumilo* is placed across gate entrances to keep out witches. For the latter reason, this wood may not be used as firewood; it would reveal the

2: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1943

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XI. DOMESTIC DUTIES

(a) DIPPING UP REQUIRES GREAT SKILL

(b) STRAINING THE PREVIOUS BEER DREW

[facing p. 144]

TRIAL TRAITS AND ATTITUDES

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is very difficult to obtain any expression of opinion concerning the relative merits of things we quite naturally compare, such as objects of craftsmanship, achievements of individuals, or other elements of culture. They do not share our interest in analysing out parts of a culture complex in order to compare them, and they generally regard the complexes—for instance, two different types of dance—as wholes incommensurable with one another. Of course, they do compare things, but as regards economic goods they are chiefly concerned to be favoured equally with others. 'What are you wanting me off?' is a common phrase implying, 'Am I not, equally with others, entitled to share in your generosity?' A child, asking us for sweets, often says, 'Give me also', for he is begging for what others may receive, not a special advantage for himself. When favours are asked from the ancestors, the prayer is quite often phrased in such terms as 'Give us also' or 'Let us have health like others'. When a son had just been initiated as a doctor, his father prayed simply, 'Let him also be able to heal nicely,' and when a son was ill in town, the words, despite the competitiveness of town conditions, were 'We say, let him be "cool", Mother, and in his work let him be like others.' To stress, before the ancestors, a desire for personal achievement in competition with, or greater than that of, others is evidently improper.

Competition is not always eliminated. Doctors are not conceived to be rivals for a limited clientele, but they are said to 'try' one another: cultural definition diverts attention from the objective social situation of a limited number of customers, in which competition is discouraged, to the magical sphere, in which the fantasy of competitive strife is permitted. But the most striking arrangement that limits competition is the socially recognised, albeit not rigidly prescribed, hierarchy which defines men's status according to seniority or rank. 'Robes may be passed on (to strangers), never royal rank'; or, again, 'What becomes worn by age is clothes, not noble rank', because a nobleman can never lose caste or position. Younger brothers are taught to defer to their elder brothers, and in spite of displacements of district heads, it is hardly conceivable that commoners can oust royal relatives. Where the rivalry is fiercest, as among councillors at the capital, it is part of an institutional conflict and may not be openly displayed.

Dancing and music relieve the monotony of life, there is adventure in illegitimate sex relations and in the outlawed activity of witchcraft, but it is beer which provides the predominant recreation. Both beer and dancing belong to the co-operative, reciprocity pattern, whereas witchcraft is essentially competitive and anti-social. Unlike the Shangana-Tonga, the Lovedu dislike display in dancing, except in the esoteric dancing of initiation and the individualistic dancing of adherents of the alien cult of possession. Dancing, like beer, has other than recreational significance, and it is the manner in which beer has been integrated with diverse aspects of the culture that we may profitably consider.

Beer is the humanly satisfying element, even the justification of many actions; it is a recognised means of maintaining prestige and hence of achievement; and, as the medium of goodwill exchanges, it also subserves security. No occasion, whether social or ritual or religious or economic,

181 is complete without beer. During some seasons of the year, people are
 273 in a perpetual state of exhilaration: some are singing or gossiping near
 the beer pots; some are expectantly watching their connections mature;
 and the rest are recovering from the last beer drink. Drunkenness is
 deprecated, but drink induces a state in which behaviour otherwise
 frowned upon is tolerantly regarded. Beer parties should be orderly,
 for they are occasions when some of the constraints of life may be relaxed
 and when jealousies and dissensions, normally under control, may rise
 to the surface. Though intoxication, even self-praise, is allowed in
 states of exhilaration, beer must be drunk with decorum; it should be
 sipped over, not belched in haste.

181 A multitude of values centre round beer. It is a nourishing food, taking
 273 the place of meat feasts elsewhere; it is as the food of the gods. Beer is so
 574 great an attraction that it would be almost a lack of balance to keep one's
 appointments, to attend to other business, or to be worried by the passage
 of time if a beer party is imminent or in progress. A man's reputation for
 generosity depends upon his giving a beer party occasionally, although
 the entertainment is invariably in connexion with some definite purpose,
 economic, ritual, or religious. Beer is the medium of goodwill exchange
 between relatives-in-law and between neighbours; and, as belonging to
 this context, the tributary beer from the districts to the queen is trans-
 formed from a burden to a pleasure. Beer is at the basis of the group of
 [57] relatives (literally, those who eat together), composed largely of kin and
 neighbours who often co-operate in economic activities; this group cuts
 across the lines of the district and includes even such alien elements as
 Shangani-Tonga; and the main obligation of its members is to call fellow
 members to any beer that is available. Reconciliations are effected by
 beer, which also 'opens the way for the mother-in-law'. All the essential
 reciprocities are maintained by beer: a man returns a borrowed article
 with beer; a family doctor, instead of being paid for his services, expects
 to be called to the family beer; and in the work party beer removes labour
 from the category of subservience to that of mutuality. With beer one
 thanks, but with money one pays.

181 None of the interests that we have considered are intensive, and none
 of the striving, whether for security, achievement, or recreation, is
 concentrated. The diverse ideals and achievements that are permitted
 in social arrangements enrich personality and encourage the qualities of
 balance and wisdom; and the insistence upon a reciprocity which is not
 motivated by distrust, conditions mutual helpfulness and suppresses
 aggressiveness and display. An important clue to Lovedu's *Weltanschauung*
 is their attitude to what may be considered to be ultimate power, the
 power through which the final goals of life and security can be attained.
 Such power is sought, not in privations, tortures, visions, and self-
 oblivion, but in normality, equanimity and maturity; it is derived, not
 from breaking the ordinary bounds of experience to escape to another
 world and from transcending the limits of the senses, but from manipu-
 lating mundane forces and from identification with nature. The Lovedu
 do not compel cosmic laws by the power of ecstatic states or trances;
 they bend these laws to their purposes by supplicating the queen and

is; and so the result there is a profound distrust which vitates relations. In the situation of a European-owned mission station, both because of the distrust attributed to an alienistic creed and of the supposed capitalistic exploitation, the services and sacrifices of a missionary are liable to be rewarded with ingratitude and suspicion. 129
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But however favourable the conditions, the difficulties must not be underestimated. It is the sensitive ego that is easily controlled; if a man cannot ordinarily be moved by an appeal to a sense of honour, conscience, or cupidity, moral pressure cannot easily be brought to bear upon him. Not only is the Lovedu ego not vulnerable, but the resort to kindness and the appeal to high motives are liable to be construed as cunning and an attempt to overreach. 'An ingratiating person', such as a European who comes with pleasant words, the Lovedu say, 'lacks not ulterior motives; if he lacks it, he is doomed' (for in any case he will be suspected). No wonder that the European so often believes that firmness and coercion are the only means of controlling the Native.

The different views held by the Lovedu and the European with regard to certainty and precision lead to many conflicts. The lack of Lovedu insistence upon these traits gives an appearance of irresponsibility and disregard of obligations against the background of European society; and the white man readily believes that Natives are innately like children and always need supervision. As employers, masters, and administrators, Europeans have, in the setting of a competitive, calculating society, no alternative but to stress punctuality and precise regulation; but they are wrong in supposing that the custom of every society must be its regulative aspect and that anarchy must follow if irregularities and disregard of rigid procedures are allowed. The meticulous fulfilment of obligations, upon which the Western commercial structure depends, is not necessary in the timeless Lovedu culture, with its reliance upon long-run reciprocities. The Lovedu would easily understand the parable in which the people who worked for an hour in the vineyard in the cool of the evening received as much reward as those who had toiled there all day long in the hot sun, for they have little patience with the dull, mechanical systems that measure merit, work, and time by a highly graduated yardstick. In the hierarchy of Lovedu interests and necessities, time and punctual fulfilment of promises are secondary; but this does not mean that in the setting of the culture people are irresponsible and unreliable. 177

The beer-drinking of Natives is the bugbear of the European employer; it is a real problem to the farmer. Even in the Reserve its social function is gradually giving way to its pathological one. There are many reasons for the change: the greater abundance of grain, the increasing monotony of life, the sense of frustration, and the recognition in the society that relief and excess may be displayed in states of exhilaration. Farmers legitimately complain of the demoralizing effect of beer. Beer can never be used in its full cultural context on the farms, and its prior claims to time and interest can never be harmonized with the requirements of labour service. The problem that is raised is apparently insoluble, for total prohibition of beer leads to the surreptitious drinking of injurious, rapidly maturing concoctions, to a sense of grievance on the part 273

[177] of the Native, to his increased hostility to greater police activities,
 273 to evasion of and disrespect towards the law, and to irritation and loss of time by the farmer in pursuing offenders. In the contact situation, the food becomes a drag and the vehicle of social intercommunication becomes the means of diplomatic wrangle.

177 Similarly, it would be possible to show the inevitability of other attitudes of European and Lovedu to one another; but here as elsewhere in this book we must frankly admit that volume will have to be written before the situation has been fully described. The opinions of the Lovedu held by Europeans are, however, not based upon inevitability. It is true that the Lovedu in the contact situation are liable to be indolent, irresponsible, unreliable, ungrateful, untruthful and emotional. Tradition here seems to be conspired by conduct and by the operation of motives which run counter to all their reasonable expectations. The farmer does not, without reasons which are very real to him, call them 'creatures' or regard them as drunks who, incapacitated week-end after week-end, justify their existence by work in the intervals between bacchanalian fits. Those who labour to elevate the 'barbarian', to give him the blessings of a new culture or religion, or to promote his material advancement do in fact find their sacrifices rewarded with ingratitude and advantage taken of their labour of love. These Europeans, as well as the Native, are the victims, sometimes of their personal prejudices, but more often of the whole background of the contact situation. Yet the Lovedu proverb, 'A person is a person; it is a stump that has no ears', encourages the hope that with skilled handling and sympathy the situation may be made to yield to reason.

One The anthropologist, who ascribes the practical man's views solely to prejudice and ignorance and, worse still, to inaccurate observation, not only uselessly antagonizes those in closest contact with the Native, thus rendering a disservice to better relations and co-operation, but also brings discredit upon his field methods and science and condemns them to ineptitude and distrust. Judgements upon motives and attitudes are always liable to grave error, for valuations are subjective and the personality of the observer is as important as the behaviour he observes: two men, one frustrated and the other successful, may come to very different conclusions, though they observe the same behaviour. We must beware lest practical men, familiar with the Native, ascribe our judgements to our preconceptions, especially to a facile toleration of traits to which not we, the observers from without, but they, the employers and administrators, have themselves to adjust realistically. 'Wisdom', say the Lovedu, 'comes from the scar' [of experience]; and it is in the practical man, not the anthropologist, who has suffered the wound. There is great need for co-operation and for resolving differences by open discussion, for, to quote another Lovedu saying, 'Quarrels have no hiding place'—that is to say, if people desire amicably to compose their differences.

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THE NORTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL BOTHERO

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754 i.e., telling the medicine, without any set phraseology, what to do, is important. Day wizards are chiefly men and it is said that, owing to the facility of obtaining bad medicine in towns and from foreign tribes to-day, this type of witchcraft has greatly increased.

In everyday life, however, a person is called a witch, whatever methods he has used, and in an accusation of witchcraft there is never any discussion whether the culprit is a day or night wizard. Moreover, there is in the minds of ordinary people considerable confusion about the type of witchcraft associated with each class, and it is possible to live among Lowveld people a long time without coming upon these distinctions. The night wizard is thus in Evans-Pritchard's terminology the witch, the day wizard the sorcerer; and the great distinction between sorcery and legitimate magic lies not in method but in intention.

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535 SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF BEER AND THE DANCE. It would be a mistake in discussing the main features of Lowveld society to leave out of count the social importance of beer and the use of the dance or *gushu* as a social institution, though neither is confined to these tribes. Beer, apart from its religious value, plays a part in social and economic life. It is continually being carried from one group to another, acting as a bond between people and establishing friendly relations. In the Lowveld, in contrast to the Highveld, it is still of greater importance than money; while people may refuse to attend working parties for money, they will flock to one where beer is served. The *gushu* is a dance in which women do the drumming while men playing reed pipes dance in a circle round the drums. It is, however, much more than a dance. It is an institution for maintaining friendship and reciprocity between groups, a way of showing sympathy on the death of a relative and the means by which subjects approach their chief for rain in time of drought. A *gushu* is often sent by one chief to another in the Northern Transvaal.

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171 SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN LOBEDU CULTURE AND THAT OF OTHER AREAS. The Lobedu culture complex represents a close blending of two cultures, that of the Lobedu who came south from somewhere in Rhodesia when the empire of Monomotapa was breaking up, bringing

184 in the use of motor traffic. Are not people more important than speed? The need for even a chief to respect the wishes of his subjects upon whom he depends for a following is summed up in the saying, *Ukusi gi enkho*, 'chieftainship is people'.

577 The qualities or virtues that are stressed, then, in the moral code of the Lovedu are moderation and temperance, compromise and agreement, humility, respect for the personality and rights of others. Courage is not rated very high in this non-military society. Perseverance is often enjoined and is especially necessary in the monotonous tasks of hewing, carrying heavy loads of wood, walking up steep mountain slopes; but it is never carried out with the single-mindedness that a European might expect. Theft is

1753 condemned and there are ritual sanctions against it. If the object stolen has been magically treated, for example, a painful sore will develop on the finger which defies treatment until guilt has been confessed and restitution agreed to. 'Don't steal, always beg (*Asela*) for what you want', children are exhorted. But theft is not a problem in this economically undifferentiated society, though nowadays cases of theft, even if extremely rarely, do come before the tribal courts. Drunkenness is bad only if it leads to neglect of duties or fights and quarrels. To be drunk is in itself no disgrace, it is merely pleasant and perhaps exhilarating, not a condition to be ashamed of. 674 Indeed everyone looks forward to the *marule* season when all become slightly intoxicated from the cider made out of the fruits.

273 Right conduct is relative always to the human situation and morality is oriented not from any absolute standards of honesty or truth but from the social good in each situation. Conduct that promotes smooth relationships, that upholds the social structure, is good; conduct that runs counter to smooth social relationships is bad. Courtesy and the respect due to age or seniority are thus of greater importance than truth. A son-in-law who, tired of always being imposed upon by his wife's father, truthfully signified his unwillingness to help him by providing a goat would be guilty, in view of the special mutualities between families related by marriage, of unpardonable behaviour which might jeopardize his marriage. The correct procedure is to agree to help but to be always 'still looking for it' when approached for the goat. It took us a long time to discover that the right way to deal with incessant begging was not to refuse however politely, but to say 'I have none' or 'It is not mine to give'. The polite lie even if palpable is better calculated to maintain smooth relationships than strict adherence to truth. Truth is not good in itself nor is a lie always evil. Lies are objected to when they are socially inconvenient. Yet not only is it expected that a man will lie to get out of difficulties but there are cases in which lying is prescribed, as when children are told to lie to strangers if asked about village affairs. To keep tribal secrets and the secrets of initiation schools is of far greater importance than to tell the truth.

831 The social orientation of morality is clear in Lovedu sex morality. Sex is not regarded as a temptation to be resisted by painful efforts of will.

LOBEDU PROPERTY, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

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● [273] ance against future want by building up relations of friendship and goodwill with kin and neighbours whom you can call upon for assistance in time of need. Nor does property, as in Western society, command the services of others to any appreciable extent. The core of helpers in a work-party are there primarily because of ties of kinship and neighbourhood; the beer that is served may be enjoyed by any passer-by who wishes to join in. Traditionally, then, property is of value to the Lobedu only in so far as it can be consumed or meets an immediate need on the one hand or, on the other, is used for creating and maintaining social relationships. This is changing now under conditions of culture contact but the change is still largely confined to Christians.

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602 There is not a great deal of exchange and what there is takes the form most frequently of gift exchange¹. Property in the form of a gift is a tangible sign of a social relationship. A new bride speaks to no one in her new homestead until given a small gift in token of her new social relationship to the giver and the same holds for a newly-initiated boy or girl. Ties with one's maternal kin and with affines are also kept alive by gifts and gift-exchange. It is significant that agnatic ties are the only ones that do not require continuous gift-exchange. Yet even here a service rendered seldom goes unrewarded. Property and human relationships are, then, closely interlinked. That it is not possible always to separate economic and social relationship among the Lobedu is shown by the following examples.

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571 Just after the 1895 rinderpest Khidima, a royal relative, went to the queen, who is traditionally responsible for giving succour to orphans and the needy, to ask for money to buy medicines. She gave him some. A few years later he sent a messenger to her to say he 'had a baby daughter'. The queen accepted the gift and when the girl reached puberty presented her with a *thari* goat according to custom. Cattle followed and the girl, Myakwane, was duly 'married' by the queen. This was the beginning of a permanent bride-giving-bride-receiving relationship, for in 1950 the queen sent a messenger to the widow of Myakwane's brother who had used his sister's cattle, to ask for her daughter in marriage. *'Ge loda dikhomu tja ka. Ge nyaga masani a de a atikidile—I am following the tracks of my cattle.*

¹ Krige, E. J., 1941.

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55 other wives. When the mother's brother's daughter is one of the younger wives in a polygynous household she may be completely overshadowed by the first wife. The eldest son of the first wife occupies a position of importance in the family. He is said to stand in the shoes (literally 'footprints') of his father and after the latter's death has a right to be *suma'd*, i.e., given a portion of any animal killed by any of his brothers long after they have dispersed and live in separate homesteads. There are instances, especially in the case of district heads and where the chief house has no male heir, in which the eldest son of the first wife married tries to usurp the position. But though he may appear for a time to be succeeding as seemed to be the case in more than one instance in the 1930's when first we went into the field, I have not come across any cases in which he has succeeded in the long run.

[42] Each wife has her own fields which it is her duty to cultivate for the needs of her 'house'. On her death her sons have first right to inherit her fields unless their father wants to use them himself or arrange for their cultivation to provide food for the younger children; but they may not be used for the benefit of any other 'house'. A daughter may be given her deceased mother's field to cultivate while she is still in her parental home, but she cannot inherit it. A wife is expected to feed herself, her children, her husband and her mother-in-law from her fields. Each time she cooks she sends food to her husband and to his mother. What is left must be returned to her 'house' unless the husband himself gives it to the herd-boys or other children as a group. In the case of special dishes eaten in-between meals, (212) such as cakes of sesamum or ground peanuts, a little will be (214) sent to each of the other women of the homestead with whom the wife is on good terms. In a large homestead this may be (217) confined to the wives of one man. Beer brought to any one 'house' is usually drunk by all in the village and neighbourhood.

595 In addition to having her own granaries and cooking utensils
225 every wife has a right to raise livestock. She may keep chickens;
237 she may acquire goats by the exchange of her produce; she may get pigs by feeding other people's pigs in return for a pigling. She may even acquire cattle if she is a doctor. In contrast to the Zulu, where the 'house' like that of the Lovedu is

LOBEDU PROPERTY, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

was related to all except homesteads 10, 11 and 12: a sister of 62/
the head of homestead 1 was married in No. 13; a son in No. 4 582
of this cluster had married a Porcupine woman in No. 5; they 602
had a distant mother's brother's son in No. 9 and they were 571.
related in the same way to two wives in the Pig group.

The Porcupine brothers for their part had a sister married in
homestead 4 (Crocodile) and a daughter-in-law from No. 9.
They therefore had affinal bonds also with two wives in the
Pig group, sisters of this daughter-in-law.

The Pig group had married women from No. 9 and therefore
had links also with No. 9's cross-cousins in the Crocodile
cluster and with No. 9's affines, the Porcupines.

The manner in which kin of various kinds co-operate with 62/
each other and with neighbours could be seen very clearly 602
when Enoch, head of homestead No. 9 had to meet a gift- 43/
exchange obligation involving the sending of beer to the head 476
of a neighbouring district. The beer, made from mealies from 273/
Enoch's own fields was brewed by his mother and by his sister
from homestead No. 8. When it was ready, a messenger was
sent to notify (*rapa*) all their relatives (*moloko*). Calabashes for
carrying the beer were borrowed from the neighbourhood and
early in the afternoon a collection of women and a few men
foregathered in the courtyard of Enoch's mother. There were 415/
ten calabashes and one petrol tin of beer, six baskets of Kaffir-
corn and three half-filled enamel basins of grain into which
the calabashes of beer were put for carrying. The grain was
contributed by kin—by the cross-cousin in homestead No. 1;
by the husbands (*baduhulu*) of the two sisters in homesteads
Nos. 6 and 8; by two father's sister's daughters living outside
the area and by a sister of the 'wife' of his mother, also outside
the area, all of whom were present for the occasion. Women
from the whole neighbourhood turned out to carry the beer.
After the eldest sister of Enoch had poured a little beer on the 222/
ground with a prayer for luck on the journey and had drawn a
magic circle round the mouth of each calabash with a charm,
the party set out with ululations of joy and much talking and
noise. Kin of all kinds and neighbours all contributed to the 524/
success of the enterprise and all took part in the feasting at their
destination where the beer was consumed and a beast slaugh-
tered for their entertainment.